

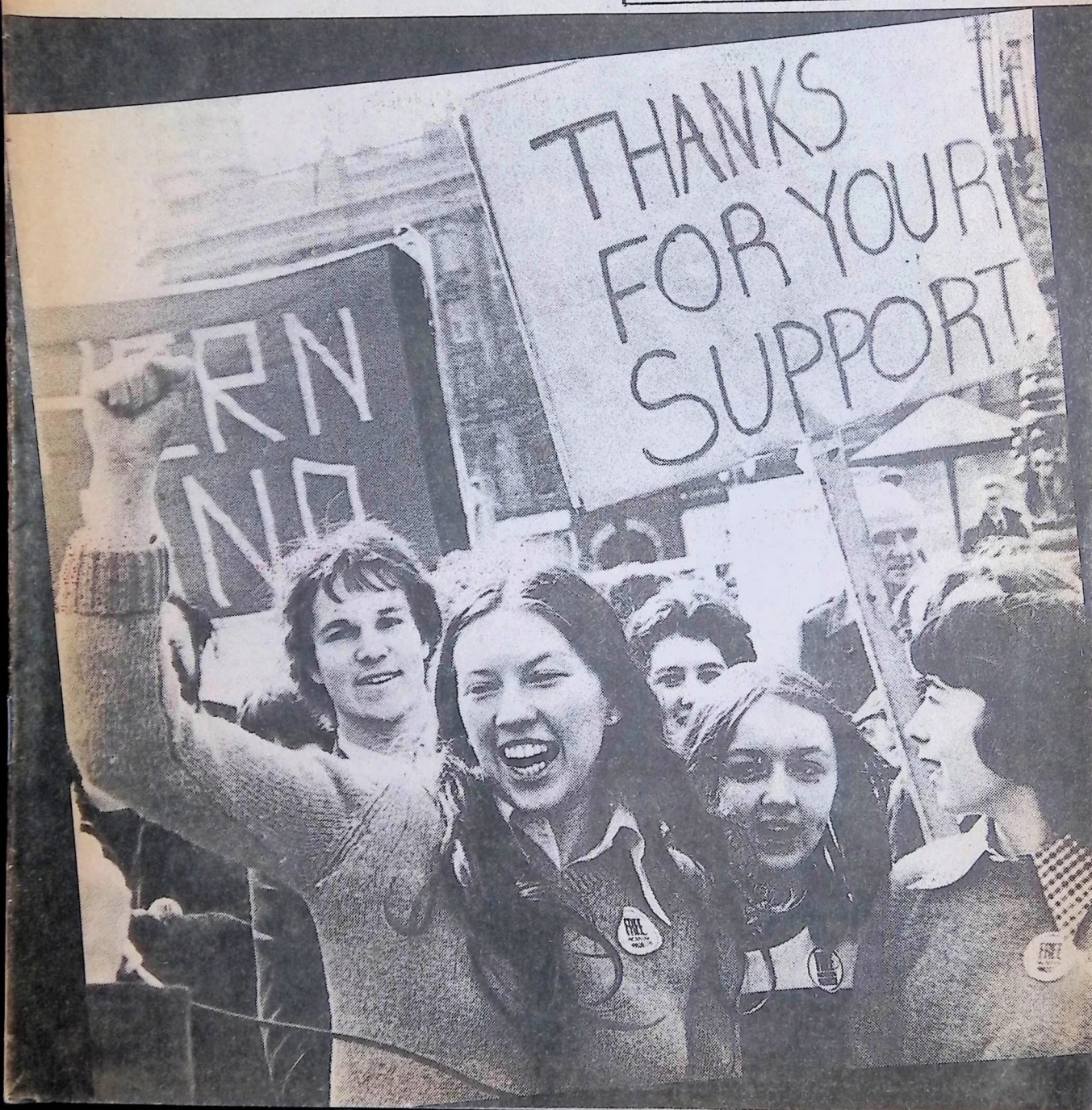
Socialist Worker Review

Incorporating THE WORKER

Norron Dindlesley

10p

3



SOCIALIST WORKER REVIEW

Supporters of Socialist Workers Review, came from all over the country to a meeting that was held in Dublin on April 23rd to have a general discussion on the politics of the paper and to discuss how we can argue for our ideas inside the SLP. Around 50 comrades were in attendance. Emphasis was put on the need to build an activist party rather than one geared towards electoral activity. That means establishing the tradition in the party of intervening in every strike in the local area and in every form of working class struggle. It also means that the leadership of the party must be prepared to take national initiatives which can mobilise the membership. In particular, there was general agreement that the SLP should actively participate in the building of the TUCAR and the RACs in the North. The accompanying manifesto was also carried as the basis of the tendency around the paper inside the SLP.

THE CONTINUING problem of unemployment and falling living standards and declining levels of 'democracy' at a time when the world capitalist economy is supposed to be recovering make it clear that there is no room for tinkering with the system. Socialism, the conquest of power by the workers, offers the only way out of recurrent crises, massive poverty and oppression, and the threat of world-scale war.

The aim of any party which seeks to help to bring about socialism must be to raise the level of consciousness and organisation of the working class so that they perform the task themselves. Parties whose leaders have their sights set on political positions, or which are tied to bureaucratic regimes elsewhere cannot do this.

The Irish working class, as much as any other, needs a party which makes no compromise with capitalism, which is internationalist in outlook and which integrates the anti-imperialist struggle into its strategy for socialism. To provide a sure lead, such a party must be of the working class itself, not an exclusive sect, but equally not a formless collection of individuals.

The Socialist Labour Party has the potential to become such a party. No socialist organisation in Ireland has had such opportunities in years. To many class-conscious workers, the SLP appears as the most attractive left-wing organisation. It is not tied to any stultifying dogma, yet is clearly distinct from the parliamentary opportunism of the Labour Party. It has brought together various strands of the Left and many unaligned socialists and appears open and democratic.

The SLP must retain that appearance and consistency, while all the time striving for greater coherence in the political direction it gives. It must be seen to actively support workers' struggles against bosses and state and when necessary against the bureaucracy of the labour movement. It must seek to generalise such struggles so that they do not remain isolated or sectional.

The workers' mass organisations are under constant threat of incorporation into the bosses' state through the compromises of their leaders; the SLP must defend the independence of those organisations and promote the initiative and the control of the rank and file within them. To that end it needs to co-ordinate the activities and influence of its members within the trade union movement and to build there the principal base of its political support.

The constitution of the SLP defines it as a party with revolutionary aims. To advance those aims it must be an activist organisation, always seeking the opportunity to intervene in support of workers' struggles, and to give them direction. Attempts to tie the party to the role of giving advice or to restrict its public political activity to propaganda and electioneering will hold back the possibility of realising the outline programme it has adopted. The SWT will only support the party standing for elections where it has a record of active struggle.

The SLP must actively defend anti-imperialists who face the repression of the state not just to protect abstract civil liberties but in order to bring organised workers to the fore in the struggle against imperialism. It can become the only socialist organisation with a mass audience operating North and South and thus provide an alternative to those workers fighting imperialism under the leadership of nationalists. In doing that, it will need to recognise the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and imperialism.

Women are oppressed by capitalism North and South; the SLP must take up the struggles of women if it is to build a party which is capable of fighting for socialism, for if women are not part of that fight then it will be almost impossible to win.

The Socialist Workers' Tendency is committed to the perspective of revolutionary socialism internationally. It aims to encourage the SLP in that direction.

SWT
Socialist
Workers
Tendency

SOCIALIST WORKERS REVIEW
24 Talbot Street
Dublin 1

Contents

JUNE ISSUE



Praise of Communism

It's sensible,
anyone can understand it.
It's easy.
You're not an exploiter,
so you can grasp it.
It's a good thing for you,
but not more about it.
The stupid call it stupid
and the squalid call it squalid.
It is against squalor and
against stupidity.
The exploiters call it a crime
but we know
it is the end of crime.
It is not madness, but
the end of madness.
It is not the middle,
but the solution.
It is the simple thing
so hard to achieve.

Bertold Brecht.

THE IRISH ARMY IN LEBANON - Why they should not be there.PAGE 4

THE UNIONS: Reports on the ending of the Post Office Engineers dispute and the rising militancy amongst Postmen. Also report of the moves by the ITGWU bureaucracy against a militant shop steward, Des Derwin.PAGES 5,6.

NEWS:
Dublin City centre school closuresPAGE 7
Anger over H BlockPAGE 8
Nazi Front in Belfast; May DayPAGE 9
Loughran House; Brian MaguirePAGE 10

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: Joan Kelly looks at the Marxists perspective on women's oppression and argues that the main priority lies in building a working women's movement in this country.PAGES 11,12,13

THE PROTESTANT WORKING CLASS: Brian Trench examines some of the contradictions inherent in the break-up of the Unionist monolith.PAGES 15,16

LETTERSPAGE 17

A UNITED CAPITALIST IRELAND? John Goodwillie argues that it could only come about through the smashing of some section of the Irish working class.PAGE 18,19

NUCLEAR POWER: Frank Bambrick says that socialists must not see it as a trendy apolitical issue but must oppose it because it is an elitist and secretive technology.PAGE 20

DEBATE: IS THERE AN IRISH NATION?PAGE 21

REVIEWS:
ELVIS COSTELLOPAGE 22
DUTIFULL DAUGHTERS
TRINITYPAGE 23

PHOTOS by Derek Splers IFL/REPORT
Pages 1,8 and 10..

Socialist Worker Review

Socialist Worker Review is produced by a group of members of the Socialist Labour Party. The magazine is published monthly and will argue for the following points:

Opposition to National Wage Agreements or wage restraint in any form and argue for the building of a rank and file movement in the unions to fight for union democracy and militant policies.

Support for the struggles of the unemployed and oppose redundancies and productivity deals.

Opposition to state repression and argue for trade union action to oppose repression.

Support for the women's struggle in all areas, economic and social.

A socialist answer to the national question based on the unity of the working class.

The supporters of the magazine will constitute the Socialist Workers Tendency.

Readers are invited to write articles, letters or comments and contribute to the development of a revolutionary tendency in the SLP.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Kieran Allen
(Dun Laoghaire)
John Goodwillie
(Dublin South East)
Mary Gordon
(Dublin South East)
Joan Kelly
(Belfast)
Geraldine King
(Dublin South Central)
Paul O'Brien
(Dublin South County)
Brian McKenna
(Dublin, Artane)
Terry Walshe
(Cork city)

ADDRESS

For further information on the Socialist Worker Review, please contact:

Socialist Worker Review,
c/o 24 Talbot Street
Dublin 1



IRISH ARMY OUT NOW!

THE 43RD INFANTRY Battalion of the Irish Army are to be sent to Lebanon to join the United Nations contingent there. Their officers have already gone out to make preparations. The Dail has agreed to the proposal without the murmur of dissent. Not a voice was raised to even question their role. It is assumed that 'the boys' are there to 'keep the peace' and get a bit of a sun tan on the side.

But the reality is somewhat different. Towards the end of March thirty thousand Israeli troops smashed their way into Lebanon. Their pretext was revenge for a Palestinian commando raid. In the course of extracting their revenge, or as Begin put it "cutting off the hand of evil", they razed Lebanese and Palestinian villages to the ground through continuous artillery and aerial bombardment. It is estimated that 1500 Lebanese civilians were murdered. Tens of thousands were maimed. More than 150,000 people were uprooted from their homes and fled Northwards to the swollen slums of Beirut and Sidon.

THE RESISTANCE

The speed with which Israel organised the attack—it took only 24 hours to launch—suggests that contingency plans were prepared well in advance for such a suitable occasion. The objective of the Israeli occupation was twofold: to inflict a mortal blow against the Palestinian resistance and to further expand the territory of Israel. They failed miserably in their first objective. Writing in the Irish Times, the journalist Robert Fisk said:

"The efficient and powerful military machine which the Israelis have perfected over the past 30 years killed scarcely a few dozen Palestinians. . . The Israelis discovered that fighting a guerrilla war is very different to vanquishing regular troops in the field."

ZIONISM

Yet they have made a major step forward towards achieving their second objective—that of increasing the territory of Israel to a point as far north as the river Litani. Such a policy of expansionism has characterised Zionism from its inception. Its whole basis has been to create a specifically Jewish homeland by forcing hundreds of thousands of native Arabs from their homes. Plain simple terror has been the means. Begin himself led one of the main terror groups, the Irgun, which on the night of April 10th 1948 assisted in the massacre of an Arab village, Deir Yassin, in which 254 women and children died. Upon the foundation of the state of Israel the land of the Palestinians who fled the terror was confiscated. No compensation was ever paid. The Palestinian refugee 'problem'—as the press likes to call it—was created.

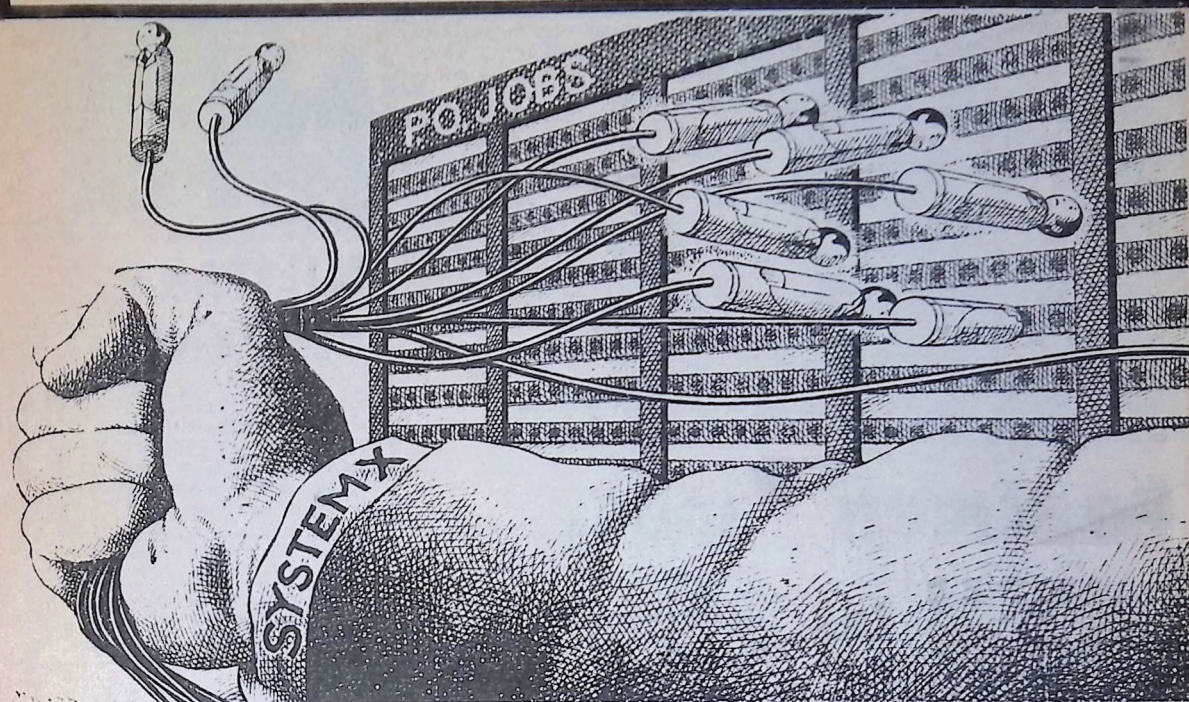
The Zionists have always set their hearts on the Litani river in Lebanon as its northern boundary. David Ben Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, said: "The Achilles heel of the Arab coalition is the Lebanon. . . A Christian state should be set up there, with its southern boundary on the Litani river." Towards that end,

the Israeli government intervened in the Lebanese civil war to court the right wing Christian militia. 3000 Christian terrorists under Major Hadad were fed, paid and armed by the Israeli government. They were encouraged to plunder the Arab villages and create an enclave through which the Israelis could invade.

That invasion has now taken place. The Israeli army remains in southern Lebanon as an army of occupation, as an army of terror. The role of the U.N. is to act as a cover for that occupation. They patrol a tiny strip of land between the Israeli positions and the Palestinian guerrillas. While holding out the carrot of eventually overseeing an Israeli withdrawal, they have attacked Palestinian guerrillas who are attempting to enforce that withdrawal—now. At the beginning of May, the heavily armed French contingent in the U.N. murdered a number of Palestinian guerrillas who were attempting to cross their lines in order to return to operate inside southern Lebanon. The guerrillas retaliated immediately by attacking the French.

The U.N., then, is essentially trying to contain the Palestinian resistance, to prevent it launching an effective offensive against the Israeli occupation. Despite its protestations of neutrality, it is inevitably drawn towards actually consolidating the Israeli occupation. And that is the role which the Irish troops will play. That is why we say "get them out of Lebanon".

THE UNIONS



P.O. Engineers Deal

THE SETTLEMENT of the Post Office Engineers represented 'terms favourable to the Union' (as Socialist Labour put it) rather than an overwhelming victory for the workers. Much of the outcome has yet to be decided, through negotiation, and an important role has been given to a non-independent third party—the mediator. But, morale-wise, and from the point of view of the Engineers' confidence and strength, the return to work marks a victory for trade unionism against the State's attempt to break, or at least weaken, it.

Many important points were conceded by the Minister, including some that had been absent from the rejected ICTU settlement proposals of March, and which were specifically demanded by the IPOEU Executive for any new settlement. Discussions on the re-organisation and productivity claim, which is over two years old, must now be brought to a satisfactory conclusion within two months. The Autrax computer in Marlborough Street cannot be used in advance of agreement. The men must not be instructed to do work they have not been doing and which the Union considers to be new work. The IPOEU may now report directly to the Minister if the discussions with the Department are not progressing. Victimisation for involvement in the strike is disallowed. The settlement may

also produce some long term advances because the notoriously authoritarian rules, regulations and grievance procedures are to be immediately reviewed.

Congress's settlement proposals way back in November 1977 were completely unacceptable to the members actually in the thick of the dispute—the Dublin branches, who unofficially worked to rule. The subsequent completely inadequate Congress proposals of March (which, for instance, provided no time limit to the productivity and re-organisation talks) were recommended "very strongly" to the strikers, with the following cowardly comment from Congress: "If the proposals were not accepted they would see the Union being involved in a head-on confrontation with the Government and that in this situation the Government would be compelled to defend itself totally. This would be a very undesirable situation for the Union to get into. There could be only one outcome to such a fight and this would not be in the best interests of the Union or indeed the Trade Union movement as a whole" (IPOEU circular 8/3/78). Their proposals were rejected and there was "only one outcome"—the strikers won.

Upon rejection of the March proposals the IPOEU Executive asked Congress to set up a meeting with Faulkner in order to re-open negotiations on a four-point

basis. Congress would not do this, "saw no hope" of the first two points being conceded by the Minister, and would only agree to clarification talks on the rejected proposals. But when the IPOEU applied for the "All-Out" picket, Congress asked them for their full proposals for settlement and, this time, put them to Faulkner, who accepted them substantially.

The role the Congress assigned itself, then, was that of balancing between the State and the strikers. It did not give the slightest thought to mobilising and winning support for the strikers. Its sole concern was to head off a confrontation where the State would be forced to back down. And though it initially sold the two tier picketing scheme as a means of "rationalising" the use of the picket, it now makes every effort to prevent the appearance of the "All-Out" picket. In the hands of the Congress bureaucrats, the "All-Out" picket is now simply a carrot to be used to woo strikers into following a whole series of negotiating procedures which Congress imposes.

The final settlement allows for a Mediator to chair the productivity and re-organisation discussions. The Mediator is appointed by the Chairman of the Labour Court—who is appointed by the Government! The same kind of Mediator will preside over the review of the Grievance

Procedure. What power, if any, he has is not spelled out in the Settlement Agreement. Nor is the outcome of the discussions, but the strength of the IPOEU members over the twelve weeks of the strike should ensure that they produce something worthwhile, and that any influence the Mediator might have will be kept in check. Where the Mediator will have some influence is on the new Mediation Committee, which will decide whether future changes in work practice are "significant", especially where there is a clear division between the Staff Side and the Department.

Mick Johnson, Secretary of the Dublin No. 2 Branch, told his members: "We can't go too far up the ladder in case we fall off." This is indeed always true and can be interpreted as legitimate tactical considerations. But it could also be interpreted as fear to resort to the use of an

all-out strike. Certainly other sections of the IPOEU leadership were never for any fight at all—and got their answer from the members through a vote of no confidence before the strike. That is why all officials of the Union should be elected and free of dependence on the Minister or his Department. The magnificent financial support given by the working IPOEU members (which continued for some time after the strike to reimburse strikers' losses) should also indicate the need for a permanent strike fund as in other unions. Whether or not the telecommunications sections is split away from the civil service one thing is essential—the engineers must rid themselves of the crushing Conciliation and Arbitration scheme and win the right to respect pickets without suspension, as 'enjoyed' by most trade unionists in outside industry.



MILITANT SUSPENDED

GENE FITZGERALD, Minister for Labour, has called for a 'disciplined' trade union movement. For unions to take action against unofficial strikes. Well, he needn't worry about the ITGWU. They do it already, when they think they can get away with it. In April the No. 14 Branch Committee suspended the Chairman of the Unidare Section from all union positions for 13 months (i.e. two years) for taking part in a 3½ hour strike. The second—and sinister—charge against him was for acting "in and with" the New Liberty Group: the rank-and-file reform grouping in the Union. Is this to be the first in a series of moves against the only organised opposition to the ITGWU bureaucracy?

The charge, under Rule 14, accuses the member, Des Derwin (who is also chairperson of the SLP Trade Union & Unemployed Group) of "activity inimical to the interests of other members." Yet the officials and the Committee have shown no regard for what the members actually think. One hundred and sixty-nine Unidare members signed a petition declaring that his actions were not "inimical" to their interests and calling on the Committee to drop the charges. Eight members of his own Section Committee signed. At the Unidare Annual General Meeting a noisy hall demanded that a resolution be taken by the Chair endorsing Des's appeal to the National Executive Council. But the Chairman (a substitute) refused to complete the voting.

Countless unofficial strikes have taken place in the Union, and indeed in Unidare, without any charges being pressed. It would be interesting to see the ITGWU top brass suspend an oil-driver or a CIE steward. But they like easy meat and offer union facilities, meeting halls etc. to the strong sections when they are on unofficial strike. It's important that this suspension be lifted, if only because the members must have the right to support New Liberty and all other attempts to increase democracy in the ITGWU.

Rank and File Postmen meet

JUST AS the Post Office engineers' strike was reaching a climax, moves were afoot amongst another section of the Post Office to put an end to long standing grievances. Rank and file postmen had begun to shake the very sleepy structures of the Post Office Workers' Union. A mass meeting of postmen from all around the country was held in Athlone on February 26th, to hammer out their demands and discuss the way forward.

Resulting from the meeting held in Athlone a symposium was later held in Dublin on April 23rd. Once again the Dublin Postal Outdoor Branch were to the fore in their condemnation of the activities or lack of activity by the Executive of the P.O.W.U. Representatives from Union headquarters were present to answer the charges of gross apathy and complacency against them.

The central grievances included pay and conditions for the postmen and the dictatorial rules and regulations to which postmen are subjected. The main bone of contention the postmen have is that Post Office clerks have nearly £20 a week more on their basic wage and that this difference is increasing with every wage rise. Not too many years ago the differential was only £2.50.

However it is not just a case of postmen begrudging the clerks their bigger wage packets. Indeed one of the reasons that the clerks have such high wages as opposed to postmen is that the National Executive of the P.O.W.U. is made up of a majority of clerks who quite naturally push their own interests. It is worth noting that although 80% of the membership are postmen only 3 postmen sit on the National Executive.

A relative claim by postmen is currently supposed to be under negotiation with the Department but there is no word on it yet. The postmen are also seeking increased attendance allowances—i.e. early morning allowance, weather allowance, service pay etc. The present allowance for a 6 a.m. start is a miserable £1. The Council of Postmen—the rank and file working committee who were elected at the Athlone meeting—are currently compiling a wage claim for submission to the annual conference and to the Union.

The postmen envisage their wage claim in the region of £70 basic per week, the present scale is approx. £60 (including the National Wage Agreement). The representatives from Union headquarters were given until June to lodge a claim with the department for higher wages and better conditions for postmen.

On the question of the rules and staff-management relations, the Union were castigated from all sides for their lack of action. The recent dispute in Blackrock was a clear indication of the Union's inability to deal effectively with the Management in the Post Office. Special mention was made about a case in Waterford where the chairman of Standing Orders is also in a supervisory role in the office there. With supervisors representing the workers what progress can one expect!

The postmen have two alternatives. Either they stay within the P.O.W.U. and hope that by their militancy and by bringing pressure to bear on the National Executive they can change the existing structures and resulting from this their overall wages and conditions improve accordingly. Obviously if they achieve their objective of equal representation on the Executive as their numbers justify, their task will be much easier and more straightforward.

Their other alternative is to resign en masse from the P.O.W.U. and set up their own union or affiliate to a more militant union. This is seen as the best alternative by many rank and file members but the difficulties would be great. To begin with it would demand a long hard struggle just to get recognition from the Department. Such a struggle could sap the existing militancy and slow down the struggle for the relative claim, the attendance allowances and the removal of many of the existing rules and regulations. In the long term it could represent a major obstacle against the creation of one powerful and militant Post Office union, by increasing the existing divisions between postmen, clerks and telephonists.

Whatever the postmen decide, they will certainly have achieved one thing. They will have shown up the P.O.W.U. leadership to be just another bureaucracy claiming to represent the workforce but who, when all is said and done, couldn't give a damn about the worker.

DUBLIN, city schools to be closed

THREE CITY CENTRE secondary schools in Dublin, all of which are religious run and voluntary schools, have been threatened with closure. For the Maria Assumpta School in Gardiner St., the threat has already been implemented. The school is now in its final year. The Holy Faith Secondary School in Dominick St is now commencing a 3 year phase-out period according to Sr. Anna, the Mother Superior of the order. When questioned concerning rumors of closure for the Dominican College in Eccles St., the Mother Superior, Sr. Jordana replied that the Mater Hospital had made an offer for the building but that no decision has yet been made.

Three years ago the Irish Sisters of Charity threatened to close the Maria Assumpta school because, they claimed, the buildings were unsafe and the numbers in the local primary schools were decreasing. Parents and teachers were very concerned but no alternative building was proposed by the Sisters. Due to inexperience in obtaining public support, the parents were unable to get this decision reversed. Even today, 50 pupils remain in the school who have made repeated attempts to get into other schools. The attempts have failed because all the schools are overcrowded already.

RUMOURS

As a result of this closure, rumours abounded over the last three years. Uneasy staffs in a number of religious run secondary schools questioned their Principals about the possibility of closure. All were reassured; including the staff in Holy Faith, Dominick Street. However, on 9th February this year, Sr. Anna announced to the staff in Holy Faith, Dominick St., that a decision had been made to phase out the school over a 3½ year period. The ASTI, the teachers union, was notified at the same time; and the parents of the 400 pupils received letters to the same effect that evening. The parents were given no reasons for the closure.

The principal reason given to the staff and ASTI was that the school does not serve the local area and that the pupils came from a large number of primary schools, the numbers in some of which



Minister of state for education Mr. Tunney and friends. Discussing more closures perhaps?

were falling. The parents and teachers were a few days in recovering from their dismay; then the parents held a mass meeting at which they elected an action committee.

They felt none of the reasons for the closure was valid or justified. The school is viable. In the past few years there were not enough places for all who applied. No financial difficulties were suggested, and the Georgian buildings are well preserved and sound. The Department of Education had also just passed a large grant for the building of a science laboratory.

LOCALS

The children come from a relatively small Northside area in Dublin 3, 7, 9, 11. Many of the parents went to Dominick St. and were reared locally, but moved further out of the city when they married. It is now more convenient for their children to get one of the many bus routes to the city-centre school, than to a closed one which is across-city.

More important is the fact that local secondary schools are filled to overflowing. Numerous disillusioned parents, having been refused a place for their daughter in four or five local schools, sighed with relief when she was accepted in Dominick St.

The parents appointed delegations to meet the Mother Superior, the Archbishop, the Minister for Education, the Conference of Major Religious Superiors, politicians, county councillors—everyone they could think of who was connected with education. The teachers and ASTI were doing the same rounds, and held a press conference to publicise their efforts. That was three months ago. The teachers and parents are still waiting to meet the Archbishop, Most Rev. Dr. Ryan, and the Minister for Education, Mr. Wilson.

In desperation the parents published an open letter to Dr. Ryan in the daily newspapers, demanding that their rights as parents and therefore primary educators not be ignored. They were met instead by Fr. Con Sayers, who could offer no hope for saving the school, nor would Sr. Anna, the Mother Superior. The nuns feel "their apostolate" is elsewhere, and as owners of the school they are legally entitled to close it, and, if they so wish, to sell it. Mr. Wilson, Minister for Education, regrets his inability to help. He says that since the school is a voluntary one it is outside his jurisdiction.

Meanwhile, a week after the announcement in Dominick St., news of the threatened closure in the 800 pupil school, Dominican College, Eccles St., came to light. Here also parents, pupils and teachers reacted strongly. Questions were asked in the Dail, on the radio, in the papers; delegates were appointed to meet the Mother Superior, the Archbishop, the Minister for Education, etc. Mr. Wilson remained as elusive as ever; Fr. Sayers replied on behalf of the bishop. Their very vocal appeals to the public had some effect, however. Mother Jordana said that if the building is to be sold, an alternative school on a nearby site will first be built.

No such assurance has been given in the case of Dominick St where the parents are planning a mass meeting to which they are inviting Sr. Anna, Fr. Sayer Sayers, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Nolan (ASTI) and many others. They are still determined to save the school despite heavy opposition.

Now the confrontation between Church and State over community schools raises the problem forcibly of the changing position of the religious in education—while the thousands of parents, pupils and teachers in the many religious run-voluntary schools between the canals in Dublin's fair city wonder—Will we be next?

NEWS

Anger over H-Block

THE HEIGHTENING struggle for political status by over 300 prisoners in H Block and their supporters in the Tentative Action Committees has met with a vicious reaction from the Northern Ireland Office.

For the past few weeks the prisoners on the blanket have refused to clean out their cells or carry out their slop buckets. They were required to say "Please, sir" in order to get cleaning instruments. This they refused to do. Their refusal is a desperate attempt to end the humiliation and torture that life in H Block has been for so many prisoners since September 1976. The protest while endangering the health of the prisoners themselves, has brought to public attention the deplorable conditions which the denial of political status has forced on these

men over the past year and a half. Because of the protest, skin diseases and nervous disorders have been noted among prisoners.

The Northern Ireland office has been adamant in its refusal to reconsider its position on political status. They published a statement claiming that before the protest there were good conditions in the prison and the "all these prisoners have been tried and convicted in open court". The Diplock courts could never be called open - with no jury and convictions obtained mostly on the basis of signed statements. Statements which have been beaten out of prisoners in one of the many RUC torture centres.

While refusing to move on the political status issue, Mason and the RUC have launched an attack on those who are supporting the pris-



oners. Recently 15 Sinn Féin members were picked up. Included in the dawn raids were the printer of Republican News, a member of the SDLP, and a French reporter for Liberation, a French newspaper. The police rationalised the raid with banner headlines screaming about threatened IRA street protests which required a full scale police alert. The reality was that they wanted to wreck a planned protest march against H Block conditions.

A week before, women from the RAC organised a protest against H Block. About 100 people attempted to block a major intersection in the

city centre. Police in the area were outraged. But they quickly overcame their surprise and gathered their forces, soon doubling the number of protesters. Over 200 police and dogs against 100 women! Obviously the women got pushed back to Castle St, but only after the most thugish treatment by the police. A woman who was obviously pregnant was dragged by her heels into the police van. Several women were beaten as the police pushed them off the streets.

Five women were arrested and seven sentences were handed down.

TUCAR

But the protests have increased and grown. One of the biggest demonstrations for some time occurred when some 3,000 people marched down the Falls Road on the 30th of April to demand the return of political status.

And some of the smaller demonstrations in the districts have not even been reported in the news. Over 400 people marched from Ardoyne and the Bone recently under the banner of the RAC. In every area the numbers of those joining the local RAC has increased.

TIDE

The tide has begun to turn. There has been an increase in militancy and confidence - and anger. But that militancy needs to be channelled into an organised form - into the building of open, mass and democratic RACs. And it must reach out to the power of the organised working class who alone can put an end to repression for once and for all.

Interviewing of prisoners took place in a dark tunnel which was more than 100 ft at the end of a long stairs, rather than in the normal interrogating centre.

* They have admitted that the original notes that a doctor took after examining the defendants after interrogation, were lost.

* They have admitted not bothering to check the alibi of Oscar Breathnach.

The trial is the culmination of the state's attempt to smash the IRSP. If they get away with it, then every other left wing group is in the firing line. That is why this frame up must be resisted now.

IRSP MEN TORTURED AND FRAMED



In what has become the longest trial in the history of the state, the real issue at stake in the Special Criminal Court at the moment, is the credibility of the police evidence against the IRSP 4. For the state's case is largely based on statements extracted from the four - Breathnach, Kelly, McNally and Plunkett. So they need a conviction in order to do a whitewash job on police torture.

In order to get those convictions, the trial has become a farce even by the low standards of the Special Criminal Court.

One of the judges, Justice O'Connor, falls asleep regularly during the trial. Despite the fact that

journalists and members of the public have sworn statements to that effect, the presiding judge, McMahon, said he was satisfied that O'Connor has been following the case.

* The judges have already accepted that one of the defendants, Oscar Breathnach, was wrongfully re-arrested. But they claim that statements taken in this period are still admissible because the Garda had not intended to act in an unconstitutional manner.

The evidence of the prosecution is equally worn through with anomalies and inconsistencies.

* They have admitted that the

NO TO NAZI FRONT



Part of the 80,000 who demonstrated against the National Front Nazis in London last month.

80,000 PEOPLE ON a massive carnival against the Nazis in London! The news was greeted with delight in the North. Delight was usually coupled with the thought that it's not our problem, they are not over here.

But the National Front is organising in the North. They've opened an office in Larnie and are organising in the East Antrim area - the former stronghold of the UVF with whom they have had links for some time. The person most upset by that is Ian Paisley and the Democratic Unionist Party. We are the same thing, so why are they organising in competition with us, he asks.

In spite of the few public meetings, the National Front is openly organising. Card-carrying NF members attempt to recruit new members. Anti-Nazi slogans and posters in Belfast schools are

ripped down or covered with NF and UVF signs.

And the NF has its own program for the Irish question. It includes getting the 26 counties back into the fold of the Union! That is not actually not so irrational. The National Front takes Loyalty to its own logical end.

But there is also developing opposition to the NF organising here. The York Hotel was shunned by customers when word was erroneously put out that an NF meeting was planned for there. Students have been putting up Anti-Nazi League posters. Many from the North have joined the League. Several rock and punk bands are talking about organising an anti-Nazi concert in the North. This resistance should be developed to let the NF know that they are not welcome here.

SOUTHERN

"IT IS OUR job to organise support for the freedom fighters, workers and peasants in Zimbabwe. This was the theme of the message from Peter Alexander, who spoke to students in a tour of the North recently. Alexander, secretary of the Southern Africa Solidarity Campaign in Britain showed the film 'Last Grave at Dimbaza' and explained the nature of the racist regimes in Southern Africa. He told of the fight for freedom that is taking place in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Southern Africa.

He argued that the settlements now being imposed in Zimbabwe would not change the basic power structure in the country and would therefore not make any change in the lives of black workers and peasants. Whites would still own the majority of the land. They would still rule under a black or white government.

Alexander pointed out the links between the British government, the British and Northern Ireland corporations and the

AFRICA

British Army in maintaining the vicious regimes in Southern Africa. These links are most clearly seen in the number of mercenaries recruited from the British Army.

Many workers are recruited for the white run corporations in Southern Africa. There is often a fear expressed in South Africa that they don't have enough skilled workers (whites) for their expanding economy.

Therefore they advertise in companies and universities in the North, offering lucrative salaries. Thus, career offices in the Northern Ireland Poly and in Queens both have advertised positions available in South Africa. These offers are certainly attractive to workers and students in an area of high unemployment, but they only serve to preserve the supremacy of the white regime there.

Because of these links it is clear that the Southern Africa struggle is not something far away from our own struggle against British Imperialism. At

May day activities in Belfast once again showed us the hypocrisy of the trade union leadership in the North. Calling on the RUC to deal with any dissenting Labour government ministers on to the platform and refusing to raise the question of political repression in the North - were all part of the RUC May Day march this year.

The West Belfast branch of the Trade Union Campaign against Repression, who organised a contingent to march under their own banner were met by the RUC at the assembly point. They said they had instructions from Terry Carlin of the ICTU that TUCAR could not carry its own banner. Carlin had not bothered to answer TUCAR's letter of request to march. Nor had any other trade union officials. It's typical of the way they treat trade union dissent - ignore it and if it does not go away, use the RUC.

The West Belfast branch of TUCAR has been active in its own area in mobilising support among trade unionists to join the fight against repression. They put considerable effort into organising workers from the Kennedy Way Industrial Estate and from workplaces down the Falls Road to march against repression. TUCAR decided to use the May Day march to raise the issue of repression among the trade unionists who traditionally march on that day.

There was general support for our right to march, though many thought that we should walk with our unions. The Militant group, and the Lab-

NEWS

MAY DAY IN BELFAST

our and Trade Union Coordinating Committee which has itself called for a trade union inquiry into torture, did nothing. They simply watched the proceedings and did nothing to support our attempt to raise the question of repression at the May Day march.

The final point of harassment for TUCAR came as we joined the march without our banner. The group was totally surrounded by the RUC for the entire march and was the only contingent to receive such treatment. Come for West Belfast and you are suspect. Raise the question of repression and you are suspect to both the trade union leadership and the RUC.

Despite all this, TUCAR made an important point on May Day. The trade union leadership has been able to ignore the political questions in the North for too long - the use of torture, the signed statements, H Block, the British Army. There are issues which must be raised in the trade union movement.

TUCAR has attempted to bring the issue of repression out of West Belfast and into the major body of trade unionists in the North. That effort must now be followed up by putting pressure on every trades council and trade union branch to demand a trade union inquiry into the allegations of torture. May Day was just the start.



each of the meetings, students discussed the need to win support for the freedom fighters and to expose the way institutions in the North support the racist regimes. Students in Coleraine decided to organise a picket of the university shop which stocked South African goods. After the meeting at Queens, the manager of the union shop agreed not to re-order the South African goods stocked there -

Queens have also large investments in South Africa. Many thought it was important to organise a de-investment campaign as was successfully done in Britain. It is necessary now to build up a co-ordinated campaign in the North among students in order to force withdrawal of investment and win support for the freedom fighters.

NEWS- LOUGHAN HOUSE-PROTEST

SOME EIGHT HUNDRED people attended a meeting in Liberty Hall last month to protest about the opening of Loughan House. This meeting was a culmination of pressure on the minister for Justice, Mr Collins, not to open Loughan House. It followed letters to the press, spots on TV and Radio by child care workers, child psychiatrists, social workers, prisoners' rights organisations, psychologists etc. So what is it all about?

But first some facts. The age of criminal responsibility in Ireland is 7, in Britain 10, in Norway 14, in Denmark and Sweden 15. The law governing the treatment of Young Offenders is the 1908 Children's Act, introduced by the Westminster Parliament and repealed in England in the thirties. One third of the population of Ireland are under 16 years of age; 20% of all children are those whose parents are dependant on state income maintenance payments. The statistics for juvenile delinquency have changed little in the past few years. About 3-4% of juvenile are crimes of violence against the person.

HINT

The first hints of a children's prison were announced by the Minister for Justice on October 1st. He said he intended to provide a special centre 'to cater for up to 400 young criminals' in St. Patrick's Institution in Mountjoy Prison. On the 16th of November the minister announced at a passing out parade of new Gardaí that the detention centre is to be at Loughan House, Co. Cavan-situated over 100 miles from Dublin, making difficult any contact between the boys and their parents, and for any kind of liaison work to be carried out. In February of this year, in the Seanad the minister, in reply to Senator Mary Robinson, said the cost for the conversion of the house would be £600,000. The interim period for which Loughan House is to be used is raised from 2/3 years to 4/5 years. In December prison officers objected to the work, which was not within their scope. The Minister then introduced a crash training scheme of 12 weeks (4 weeks lectures and 8 weeks observational work). All the relevant bodies of child psychiatrists, child psychologists, child care workers and social workers have protested

against the establishment of Loughan House, and have advised their members not to work there. CARE, the Campaign for the Care of Deprived Children have been the major focus of protest, publishing a comprehensive document telling what happened.

PROPOSALS

The Meeting at Liberty Hall ended with two proposals that talked about making representations to the minister for justice. If this was agreed then the audience were asked to clap their hands. Ironically the platform had eloquently portrayed the irrationality of the state's attitude and sought to change it simply by making rational representations to its ministers.

If this is as far as these committed professionals are prepared to go, Loughan House will certainly become a reality. Surely the minister cannot be allowed to override again the first hand knowledge of those who work in the relevant field of child care. By satisfying the demands of Dublin businessmen he shows no regard for the future of the prospective inhabitants of Loughan House.

Throughout the whole affair Collins has remained ambiguous, referring to the advice of 'experts' who remain anonymous. It is obvious whose interests the minister is looking after.

Loughan House is a step backwards to the approach used 100 years ago when it was accepted that children should be kept in prison under the general care of prison officers.

This issue highlights the government's non-approach to the results of unemployment, poor housing and the lack of amenities. Juvenile delinquency is the symptom, locking up children is not the cure.

Report by
Michelle Clarke and
Annemarie Naughton.



Suicide! RUC Style

THE INEVITABLE had to happen. After years of allegations of torture in the Castlereagh police station, a South African style 'suicide' has occurred. Immediately after the death, the RUC rushed to print with one of the most blandest explanations ever: in effect, that Brian Maguire had killed himself out of remorse for his participation in the murder of Constable Millar McAllister.

Brian Maguire was a shop steward in Strathern Audio plant on the Kennedy Way industrial estate in Belfast. He had already spent 10 months in Long Kesh on remand for a charge of armed robbery. His mother pointed out that his encounter with the RUC on that occasion and with their methods of 'questioning' had left a great effect on him.

Aside from the hollow ring about the RUC's explanation, there are a number of other disturbing details. The police claim that Brian Maguire was found "hanging by a strip torn from a bedsheet attached to a ventilator grille on the wall". But the grilles in the cells in Castlereagh are too fine to enable anyone to tie anything to them. The cells themselves are specifically designed to remove any potential suicide weapons. According to Fr Paul there are no sheets in the cells and the mattresses are made of plastic so that no strips could be torn from them.

It was no coincidence either, that the policeman who was shot was stationed in Castlereagh. It is quite likely that it was, in fact, Constable McAllister's mates who were interrogating Brian Maguire.

Even more sinister is the fact that on the very week that Brian Maguire met his death, the body of

young John Patrick Mahon, was dragged out of the Lagan river. John came from the strongly republican Short Strand area. He was arrested by the RUC on April 18th for disorderly conduct. He was never seen after his arrest - until his badly decomposed body was taken from the river Lagan.

Immediately after the death of Brian Maguire, the West Belfast branch of the Trade Union Campaign Against Repression organised a massive demonstration of workers from the Kennedy Way industrial estate. Over 2,000 workers participated in the march down the Falls Road to Transport House, to demand a trade union inquiry into the death and the allegations of torture in Castlereagh. But the RUC prevented them by closing the city centre.

The death of Brian Maguire follows on the mysterious drowning of John McMahon and the dramatic 'fall' of Edward Rooney from the top storey of an RUC station during interrogation. The sequence of evidence points to a well-oiled system for obtaining convictions that is operating in Northern Ireland today. Arrest under the Prevention of Terrorism Act or the Emergency Powers Act, leads to in dept interrogation (or less politely, torture), to the signed confessions, to the 10 month or a year's remand in Long Kesh, to the appearance before the Diplock juryless courts, to the demoralisation of isolation in H Block. And that process is summed up in one figure - only 4 people currently in H Blocks have not signed or been implicated through confessions. That process of justice demands and depends on torture. That is why, today, Brian Maguire and John McMahon are dead.

LIBERATION NOT EQUALITY

THE LIBERATION of women is of crucial importance to revolutionary socialists not just because women represent more than 50% of the human race, but also because the oppression of women is inextricably tied up with the oppression of the working class under capitalism.

The liberation of women calls for a revolutionary transformation of all existing institutions as well as all social relationships. Without the emancipation of women any working-class transformation of society would only be partial and consequently would be distorted. The stereotyped sex roles, the authoritarianism in the family, and the culture of male chauvinism would all serve to impede any revolutionary advance. The liberation of women, then, out of necessity calls for the liberation of men.

The revival of a women's liberation movement in the United States and Western Europe in the last 10 years has not been matched in Ireland. The peculiar development of capitalism in Ireland, and the role of British imperialism, have limited the ability of women to win even liberal reforms.

Further, revolutionaries have either neglected the question of women or unquestioningly accepted the need to build a reformist women's liberation movement. Such reformism is often the result of an inadequate theoretical understanding of the relationship between women's oppression and capitalism itself.

THE SPECIAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

The origins of the oppression of women are to be found in the first division of labour within the family. That first division of labour was according to Engels "originally nothing but the division of labour in the sexual act," a division of labour between men and women for the purpose of propagation of children. Because of her childbearing role, woman was limited to certain forms of labour, such as food gathering, agricultural activities, handicrafts. Men were primarily hunters, and controlled weapons and other instruments necessary for that role. That division of labour while not necessarily oppressing women, nonetheless laid the basis for women's later oppression and exploitation.

The development of the means of production, the division of labour in society, allowed for the creation of a surplus which made possible exchange and the creation of new forms of wealth. This division of labour and commodity production enabled new wealth in the form of slaves and herds to be accumulated by single individuals. An inequality of ownership developed and a new phenomenon, private property, emerged. "The domestic labour of the woman no longer counted beside the acquisition of the necessities of life by the man," said Engels in *Origins of the Family*. "The latter was everything, the former an unimportant extra."

These new economic and social relations gave men reasons to tighten up family arrangements, so that they could command the labour of their wives and children. Monogamy also afforded the means by which property could be individually inherited. Once monogamy was enforced, women were forced out of production. "The overthrow of the mother-right was

the world historic defeat of the female sex," said Engels. "the man took command in the home also, the mother was degraded and reduced to servitude... this degraded position of woman... has gradually been glossed over, and sometimes clothed in milder form; in no sense has it been abolished."

The point of Engels's analysis was to show that the origins of women's subordinate position in society is not caused by God, men's evil minds, or women's innate weakness, but based upon material conditions.

Engels's perspective is a very important one for socialists. Many feminists have conceded the bourgeois idea that it is women's biology itself that has determined women's oppression. They have argued that, until now, women as individuals could not control their own lives because they could not control their own fertility. Their solution to women's oppression has even been for women not to reproduce - a privatised solution which mirrors the privatised reproduction in capitalism within the monogamous family. This amounts to an acceptance that the privatised family system is the only way to organise reproduction.

But for Engels the most important characteristic of primitive communism was the fact that the primitive community was both family and society - reproduction and production were not separate spheres of life. The household economy "was just as much a public, a socially necessary industry as the production of food by the men." In the utterly backward conditions of savagery and barbarism it was possible to organise the reproduction of the next generation on a communal basis without the oppression of women. Engels argued that it would also be



By JOAN KELLY

possible in the future Communist state. But in an advanced communist state, instead of the family being society, society would become the family—communally organised for all.

There have been many changes made in the family system as capitalism developed. Most important of such changes has been the sharpening of the separation of the productive and reproductive functions of the family unit. The domestic production of goods hardly exists today. But capitalist society is still organised around the family unit. It is essential for the reproduction of the class of free wage-earners. It plays a vital role in the socialisation of the young into the values of capitalism.

Thus, although the ruling class imposes a parasitic existence upon its own wives, the wives of the working class are essential to the preservation of the capitalist system. The woman delivers and nurtures children, the future labour power of society. Her labour in the house helps to reproduce the labour power of her husband. The wife assures his domestic needs in the cheapest possible way.



.....The wife is also expected to discipline her family to the rhythms of capitalist society. She is to make sure her husband goes to work on time, works hard, and doesn't cause trouble. Similarly her role is also to demand that her children obey authority in the school and elsewhere. It is not surprising, then, that employers often use housewives to curb the militancy of their husbands, and for teachers to turn parent against child. All this makes the family a constant source of conservatism in the working class.

But one of the contradictions of capitalism is that it also developed the need for women as workers outside the home. Marx argues that women were therefore set free by capitalism. "However terrible and disgusting the dissolution, under the capitalist system, of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relation between the sexes..." But because in capitalist society the position of the family is subordinate to the needs of property relations under capitalism the oppression of women in the family is carried into the wider society and the family becomes the basis of the oppression and exploitation at work for women workers.

WORKING WOMEN

Women are oppressed in being considered inferior to men, adjuncts to them, having their status determined by them, being shoved into passive roles, being denied opportunities to do meaningful work, etc. This description applies to all women. But, not all women experience sexual oppression in the same way. Just as class society creates the basis for oppressing women, it also determines that women in different classes will be affected differently. Women in the upper class live off the labour of workers including working class women. They are exploiters, and their interests are with the exploiting class, against the interests of their 'sisters'. Thus in a conflict they will tend to side with their class interests.

Working class women are both exploited and oppressed. Part of their oppression as workers is that they are exploited. And part of the special oppression of women workers is that they are kept in a position whereby they can be super-exploited. When women work they are shoved into low-paying, low-status jobs, many of which are defined as women's work—usually meaning work that is an extension of women's role in the family—nurse, housekeeper, teacher, hairdresser, secretary. When they get better jobs, they are usually paid less than men have less status than them and asked to do things that men would never be asked to do in the same job. Women are still forced to work at unequal rates of pay as they are not supposed to be dependent on their pay permanently. They are shoved in and out of the labour force according to whether capitalism is booming or stagnating.

Women's oppression is amplified by the fact that as workers they are super-exploited. They are not merely workers, but women workers with a special category in terms of experiences. The oppression and exploitation join together in working women, each intensifying the other. The struggle against women's oppression tends to lead them to the struggle against their exploitation, and indeed tends to make them leaders of that struggle. Furthermore, engagement in struggles against their exploitation tends to lead them to awareness of an opposition to their special oppression as women. Their position as workers, with the strength and collective consciousness that flow from it make them able to be leaders of the women's liberation movement. They are able to be the most consistent fighters of women's oppression precisely because their class interests lead them to opposition to the very class society which lies at the root of their oppression.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The oppression of women in Ireland is further complicated by the systematic underdevelopment of the country by imperialism. The peculiar development of capitalism in Ireland under imperialist domination and the partition into two sectarian regimes has resulted in a strengthening of the structural defences of the family and the reinforcement of the subordinate position of women in Irish society. The Catholic Church has enormous influence in Ireland. In the South, where it exerts considerable influence on the Dail, it has constantly opposed the introduction of reforms in family law, divorce and the provision of contraception. The puritanical attitudes of the Protestant churches in the North has meant that many of the basic reforms concerning divorce, abortion and married women's property rights which now apply in Britain have been withheld from women in Northern Ireland.



Though contraception is legal in the North, the North still has a relatively high birth rate—four times the U.K. rate. This can only be the result of the Catholic Church's prohibition of all forms of birth control and the fact that access to abortion is very restricted. The role of women in the work force, North and South, has been limited by the restrictive measures of these regimes. Compared to other capitalist societies very few married women are working fulltime. The limits imposed on job opportunities, the lack of equal pay, the discrimination against married women, the limits on women's right to control her own reproduction and the lack of child care facilities are all attacks on women's right to work and contributions to the oppression of women.

The physical aspects of British imperialism, with the activities of the army, UDR and RUC in the anti-unionist communities adds a further aspect to the oppression of women in these

areas. They have had to deal with the repression on the streets, the disruption of their families, and their own imprisonment.

The domination of British imperialism has as well upheld the sectarian divisions in society so that we are further divided from our sisters in the working class in the North. The divisions North and South, Protestant and Catholic, make it more difficult for us to organise as women and as workers against the capitalist system which is at the root of the exploitation we all face.

ORGANISE

It is important, then, to look at how women can organise against their oppression. There are many different ideas within the women's or feminist movement on how and with whom to organise to fight women's oppression. Essentially, feminism is the awareness of the special oppression and exploitation that all women face. Feminism also means the willingness to organise and fight against women's subjection in society. Men can be and have been feminists, e.g. Francis Sheehy-Skeffington. Nevertheless we do not believe that men can simply give us freedom. Women must free themselves. It is only through their own efforts, their own struggles against their own oppression that women's emancipation can come.

One type of feminism can be called reform feminism. This is the belief that women can win formal or legal equality without fundamentally changing society. Reformist feminists believe that the fight for women's liberation can be waged within the confines of capitalist society. The Northern Ireland Women's Rights Movement is one such group. Though as individuals many of its leaders claim to be socialists, they refuse to deal with the imperialist division of Ireland, attempting to get reforms in the six county context only. The reform feminists who support FF or FG want equality for women of their own class.



A second form of feminism is called separatist feminism. They believe the conflict between men and women represents the fundamental division in society. They argue that all forms of exploitation, classes, poverty and war stem from man's power over woman. Separatist feminists do not want equality with men; they want a solution separate from men. The two recent women's liberation conferences in Belfast and Dublin were organised mainly by women who stress the factor of male dominance as the problem women have to face.

Reform feminists and separatist feminists have one important characteristic in common. They both believe that the question of women's liberation can be separated from the social system and the class struggle. Women's oppression for them exists independently from the rest of society. Therefore the best solution they can put forward is reformist.

We are revolutionary feminists. We see that the fight for women's liberation is linked up with the working class movement for its own emancipation. We believe that it is only working class women who will lead the fight for women's liberation.

The struggles of feminists have improved women's status in society and won basic economic and political rights. Their self organisation and activity have raised women's consciousness and galvanised other women into political activity. And the activities of women fighting for emancipation led many to the struggle for socialism.

We must therefore welcome and support the independent organisation of women just as we welcome the organisation of all oppressed groups fighting to end their subordination. Because no society, however 'good' can 'give' women liberation. Part of that definition of women's liberation is the realisation on the part of women that they themselves can and must wage the struggle necessary to obliterate that oppression. Women's liberation means that women themselves re-define what it means to be a woman.

The crucial necessity of the independent organisation of women in terms of women's liberation is a part of our working class history. In 1871, the working women of Paris created the first workers state—the Paris Commune. But the first workers state would not allow women to vote or serve on the political committees of the commune. It was only through organisations such as Union des Femmes (Women's Union), for example, that the women won the concessions they did.

The Russian revolution destroyed the capitalist economic relations and state power, and laid the social and political basis for women's liberation. But here too, women were not emancipated and the major women's organisation, Khenodetti, had to continually fight for greater women's participation in the revolution.

The special oppression of women in society is reflected in the revolutionary organisations as well. Even after the Russian Revolution, Lenin had to admit that on the women question that if you "Scratch a Communist, a Philistine appears." In order to combat problems of male chauvinism, in order to bring more women into the revolutionary process, women must have their own organisations.

But while we accept the need for independent women's organisation, that does not mean that we necessarily commit ourselves to one group rather than another. It depends on the nature of the group. For as socialists, we do not view the women's liberation movement as counterposed to the struggle for socialism, but rather as enriching and adding to the working class movement.

Thus, for example, many in the women's liberation movement have argued that because there is a material basis for the oppression of all women, there is a need for an independent organisation for all women who want to fight their oppression in society. Sometime such a view is coupled with a notion that revolutionary socialist parties have little or nothing to offer women.

So it is in organisations like Irish Women United and the NIWRM, in seeking to be all things to all women, they have refused to take up the question of British troops, they have paid inconsistent attention to the needs of working class women and the issues that could have built a working women's movement in this country in the last few years. Women's organisations that are not committed to a working class struggle for freedom but instead support the struggles of all women will inevitably support the fight of women to be bosses. What we need is an organisation that will organise women on a working class perspective and will work to win women to revolutionary socialism.

This does not mean that we exclude or ignore women students or women from a middle class background. We can organise, win and recruit women to revolutionary politics on the basis of their oppression as well as their exploitation. Many women have broken with middle class backgrounds. We can win these women and students to the revolutionary organisation and to the need to build a working women's movement. The movement should take up all the issues of women's exploitation and oppression. We want to unite women—women in factories, women in the service industries, women at home, women who are revolutionaries and women who are not, women who are anti-imperialist and women who are not—in the fight for freedom.

SWR

Recorded cassettes of meetings, discussions, documentaries and plays on subjects relevant to the struggle for socialism.



CHILE: A documentary in sound, examining what went wrong with Chile's 'parliamentary road to socialism' which led to the bloody military coup of 1973. 55 minutes.

SWR002

LENIN: Tony Cliff cuts through the mythology that has been built around the man who played a leading role in building the Bolshevik Party and in the Russian workers' revolution of 1917. 43 minutes.

SWR003

WHAT HAPPENED TO BLACK POWER? Fred Hooper on why the Black Power movement of the 1960s failed to find a way out of racism and oppression for the black people of the US. 50 minutes.

SWR004

WORLD CRISIS: Nigel Harris, speaking in December 1976, shows how the famines and upheavals of the underdeveloped countries are the result of the biggest economic crisis since the 1930s, and examines the implications for socialists. 58 minutes.

SWR007

RACISM AND THE BLUES: David Widgery on the roots of Blues singing, particularly that of Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday, in the slavery and oppression of blacks in the USA. 55 minutes.

SWR008

SHELLEY AND REVOLUTION: Paul Foot on the work of a poet who was a revolutionary, a republican and a feminist, but whose work and life has been vastly misrepresented. 87 minutes.

SWR009

WHY RUSSIA ISN'T SOCIALIST: Duncan Hallas exposes the myth that repressive dictatorship is the inevitable consequence of the removal of capitalism, a myth which blocks the road to socialism in both East and West. 42 minutes, plus 34 minutes discussion.

SWR010

WOMEN IN EASTERN EUROPE: Anna Paczuska uses the position of women in Eastern Europe to argue the need for socialism and women's liberation on both sides of the iron curtain. 31 minutes.

SWR011

TOM PAINE AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN: Paul Foot speaking on the life and work of a man who saw both the American and French Revolutions—and whose writings were considered so dangerous in Britain that his effigy was burned in place of Guy Fawkes. 74 minutes.

SWR012

THE FIRST CHINESE REVOLUTION: Nigel Harris on the tragedy of the 1920s, when the substitution by the Communist Party of party for class, of armed struggle for workers' power, led to the destruction of the workers' movement in China. 73 minutes.

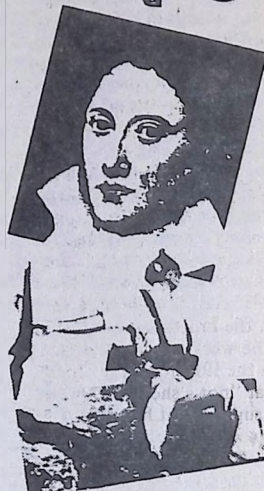
SWR013

£1.50 each, including postage.

WHY NOT USE THESE TAPES TO GET
A GOOD POLITICAL DISCUSSION GOING
AT YOUR NEXT BRANCH MEETING?

SWRRecordings

WRITE TO: SWR 24 TALBOT STREET DUBLIN 1



THE PROTESTANT WORKING CLASS

A LARGE PART of the disagreements which divide the Left in Ireland revolve implicitly around one central issue: where to place the Protestant population in a strategy for socialism. The only universally recognised theorist of Irish socialism, James Connolly, was himself ambiguous and uncertain on this question. The persistent opposition to Partition from the earliest date at which it was suggested, his warning of its dreadful consequences of the "carnival of reaction" and the irreparable divisions among the Irish people, provide a useful thread.

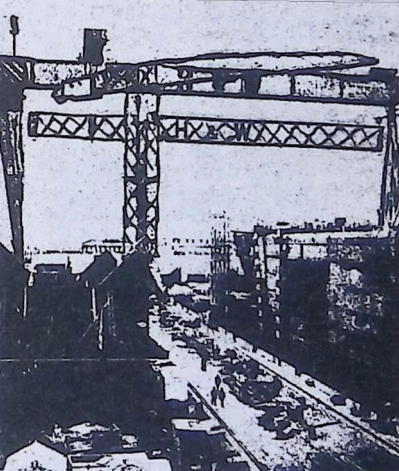
But while his political and trade union practice in Belfast appeared to be based on the conviction that the political gap would be effectively bridged through common struggle on industrial and economic matters, his writings around 1913 spelt out the need for a differentiated strategy within the Protestant and Catholic sections of the working class, and his involvement in the 1916 Rising with the admonition that "not a shot" was to be fired in Ulster, suggest that he had committed himself to operate politically on one side of the divide only.

Connolly did at one time suggest that the position of Protestant workers was equivalent to that of craft workers—possibly a useful enough guideline at the time, but one fraught with dangers for us today. More recently, we can recall attempts at a theoretical statement on the Protestants of the North using the concepts of caste and colon. The first suggests a more rigid hierarchical social order than prevails in Northern Ireland, or, indeed, could prevail in any modern capitalist society. Even with the current deep polarisation, there is much more mobility between Protestant and Catholic, than, say black and white in South Africa, or in Indian society where the caste notion is often applied. Similar problems attend the use of the 'colon' concept. For this suggests a much more superficial commitment to Irish society and a much more stronger tendency to orient to the colonialist "homeland" than applies to Protestants.

What can certainly be said today is that the fragmentation of the Unionist bloc, of the network of political parties, church and Orange institutions which have harnessed the Protestant workers to the yoke of the landlords' and big manufacturers drive for profits, has gone further than ever before. Different, indeed, from the late 1920's or the 1930's when the recession broke Unionist unity, but their control of the Orange state apparatus allowed the party leaders and Orangemen to

restore law and order, to reward the faithful and punish the miscreants.

What the decline of Orange capital, the replacement of jobs lost in the traditional manufacturing industries by jobs in the public service and in the local subsidiaries of multi-national firms, had not already done to undermine the Orange patronage system, the rise of the civil rights movements and the inability of successive British governments to hold the sharpening conflicts in check, accomplished. Thus, while the militant Loyalist demands focus on restoration of a local parliament, the awareness that this cannot be achieved is spreading. The political elite looks after its own skin by negotiating extra seats in Westminster; the cause of Ulster independence rears its not very pretty head from time to time in other circles; yet others stick to the demand for implementation of the Convention report favouring a new local administration, but put most of their effort into persuading the British to run the present administration more responsibly to the Loyalists and to exercise more severe repression against the IRA.



We have no difficulty in recognising that the extraordinary phenomena—peculiar to the Northern Ireland state among European political systems—of Unionist landlords and businessmen returned to parliament time after time without contest, demonstrates a considerable lack of class consciousness on the part of Protestant workers. But can we decipher any signs of increasing class consciousness in this break-up of the Unionist monolith? After all, no working class—certainly no working class in Europe—is hermetically sealed off from the tides of working class revolt, of socialist politics which flow

over other countries. The Protestant section of the working class may be the most inward- and backward-looking of any comparable section of industrial workers in Europe, but they are still not entirely beyond being influenced from elsewhere.

At many stages of the 'O'Neill Must Go' movement of the mid-1960's signalled the beginning of the end for monolithic Unionism, a strain of working class expression has penetrated the tangle of Loyalist thinking and organisation. The very attempt to establish Loyalist workers' organisations is significant in itself. Billy Hull's Loyalist Association of Workers was a very different thing from the Unionist Labour Associations set up as far back as Carson's time in order to keep Protestant workers on the straight and narrow. Hull was a former NILP stalwart and a shop steward with a good record.

And the short history of the LAW—as of the later UWC—demonstrated two things: that substantial sections of Protestant workers felt the need to organise independently of the middle class political leaders, and that they could not do it. For none of the specifically proletarian Loyalist organisations has survived in that form.

Loyalism cannot be cast in a working class mould, however much it needs to acknowledge the specific, and mainly material, needs of the working class in order to maintain its base, but nor can Loyalism avoid the spin off in working class directions.

This is not to say that there can be a radical working class form of Loyalism—that is, indeed, a contradiction in terms—but only that, even in spite of, and through, the fragmentation of Loyalism and Unionism, a class differentiation occasionally filters through. The Loyalist organisations who rant against the all-Ireland ICTU because it is supposedly under the thumb of communists and republicans have never made a direct attack on the trade unions and trade unionism as such, as might be expected of fascists. They have never been able to unseat the "communists and republicans" who hold shop stewards' positions in work-places with big majorities of Protestant workers, in spite of the many threats to do just that.

This 'irony' uncovers an important relationship: Loyalism has greatest difficulty in maintaining its reactionary influence continuously at the work-place. This is the weak link in the interdependencies which make up, or made up, the chain of Loyalism. The Unionist leaders

already recognised this many years ago when they found it necessary to form a special anti-strike unit of scabs: the B Specials could not always be relied on. Everything seems different about the Protestant workers, when compared with any European working class. But this much is the same: they acquire consciousness of themselves as a class most easily, and most tellingly, at work.

Therefore, even if direct contact for socialists with any significant number of Protestant workers is thought not to be an immediate possibility, the place a socialist organisation gives them in an overall strategy must shape, in detail and in general outline, the tactics of the present moment. To hold, as I believe Marxists must, that partition cannot be ended, and the imperialist presence rooted out, except in the process of socialist revolution, and to hold that this process cannot be accomplished without the active commitment of at least a weighty section of Protestant workers, has consequences for the conduct of the anti-imperialist resistance here and now. To recognise both that the continuing British support for a Six-County state is a principal bulwark of Loyalism and that socialist intervention in social and industrial struggles involving Protestant workers may help to undermine the grip of that reactionary ideology is to indicate how apparently contradictory those consequences are.

STRATEGY

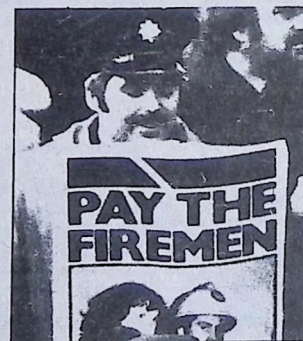
A working class strategy on the national question (most importantly, that is the question of the division of the people) has to be articulated at many different levels: the attempt to present a mass, democratic alternative to militarism to anti-imperialists; the defence of the anti-imperialist movement against state repression within the working class movement; the development of rank and file initiative in the fight against wage curbs, unemployment, trade union bureaucracy. Socialists have to distinguish themselves clearly from pan-Catholic nationalism within the anti-imperialist movement, opposing any manifestation of sectarianism in it, and actively promoting any movement which lessens the authority of the Catholic Church in the Southern state and among the nationalist population of the North.

In these ways—and by example, as it were—socialists aim to demonstrate that the most thorough anti-imperialists are also the most thoroughly committed to workers' unity in the struggle against capitalism. It will be by the efforts of Protestant workers themselves that Loyalism is defeated—its organisations isolated and its ideology rendered truly obsolete—but socialists in the anti-imperialist and labour movements, even with an audience mainly of Catholics in the North, can hasten the process. It is no sop to Loyalists to try and change the orientation of the anti-imperialist movement from within; it is the only way that struggle can be achieved.

But, aside from the indirect methods already mentioned, are there more immediate means to influence Protestant workers towards class consciousness? If the 'weak link' mentioned above is correctly identified, then it must be principally through trade union and industrial action. The decline of the Loyalist organisations' role in the factories, while they maintain their ghetto and district bases—as well as the vulnerability of such community organisation to domination by petit-bourgeois elements, whether small businessmen, clerics, professionals—must give such action preference over housing and planning concerns which have, from time to time, (notably by the Officials in an earlier period) been proposed as the means to unity.

NEGOTIATION

It should be obvious, too, at this stage that a view of Loyalism and Unionism as reactionary in all their possible forms rules out negotiation with the Loyalist organisations themselves as a means to such unity. The aim of any socialist strategy vis-a-vis Protestant workers must be to break these organisations, to win workers from under their heel. It seems probable that radical tendencies may emerge independently among the Protestant section of the working class before there is a broad, united socialist movement. But in so far as such tendencies are genuinely class conscious they will cease to be Loyalist. And they could only develop in sharp differentiation from the present Loyalist organisations, or any others in the same mould.



Unity of Protestant and Catholic workers during Firemen's strike.

Protestant workers will not be won away from Loyalist extremism unless socialists begin to take seriously the growing importance of their confrontations with the ruling class on such issues as redundancies and wages struggles (e.g. Michelin). Irish socialists' links with some of those in the British trade union movement who have a solid record of struggle could enhance their credibility among Protestant workers. It is a very important part of the reasons for giving priority to the work-places and to the trade unions

as the arena for seeking direct, and politically relevant, contact with Protestant workers is the opening out of the purely Northern Ireland context which that arena offers.

Partly as a result of the decline of Orange capital, and partly because of amalgamated trade union links, Protestant workers are obliged to see their industrial and trade union problems in a wider class context. Loyalist politicians have done their best to shield them from seeing them in that way (and they have been helped, indeed, by sections of the trade union leadership and the "Left") because they recognised the dangers. While the record of industrial struggle in the North is notably less dramatic than that in Britain or the 26 Counties, there have been responses there to some of the key struggles of the past few years in Britain. This, again, is in very sharp contrast to the record—or even the potential—of "community" issues. These are much more easily contained within a strictly Six County frame.

MILITANCY

While trade union militancy—of which Protestant workers have shown themselves capable—has never been a sufficient counter-weight to the ideology which binds Protestant workers to other classes, the encouragement of such militancy from within the trade union movement presents political opportunities not easily available in any other arena. Loyalism has neutered the industrial strength of Protestant workers, but that strength has been exercised independently before now—usually following the leaving of a mainly Protestant work-force with some Catholic yeast—and, with Loyalism in increasing disarray and the British state running madly (£1000 million investment in the North) just to stand still on unemployment, it will be demonstrated again. If socialists do not set out to win the base within the trade union movement from which they can seek to orient that strength, it may be diverted in other directions yet again.

REASON

There is, of course, another reason for socialists to turn their attention more seriously to trade union and industrial struggles in the North than they have tended to do up to this. And that is as part of the effort to win Catholic workers to a revolutionary working class perspective.

Indeed, until such a perspective has taken root among a substantial section of them, and Loyalism has broken up some more on the rocks of its own contradictions and of the crisis of British capitalism, and workers in Britain have developed a more massive onslaught on their ruling class, there may be very few chances for socialists to lead the economic struggles of Protestant workers. But the foundations have to be laid.

BRIAN TRENCH

Letters

Socialist Worker Review
c/o 24 Talbot Street
Dublin 1

HANDS OFF THE CHILEAN PRESS

Dear Comrades,
We were really pleased to see your new paper and to hear about the way the left in Ireland has had some sort of realignment. We realise that the problems you face are somewhat different to ours but even so I think that we are fighting for the same things. In particular we have the problem of anti-black racism. However, despite the fact that this is what Rock against Racism is designed specifically to fight, we have had some response from Ireland which we thought you might like to know about. Some kids in Belfast who want to organise a gig have real trouble finding a venue.



The point is, do you know anyone who is interested in Rock music and would be interested in getting involved with these people, and there are others in other parts of Ireland who would get involved, who we would put you in touch with. Whatever happens best of luck for the future.

Fraternally
Ossie (for R.A.R.)

If you are interested in Rock music and Socialism and would like to contact RAR for more information or a copy of their paper Temporary Hoarding, or to organise some gigs in Ireland, then write to: RAR Box M 27 Clerkenwell, London EC1 or contact SWR at our address

Dear Comrades,

The working class and left wing press plays a vital role in the struggles of the labouring people in any country. Not only does it denounce the injustices and arbitrariness carried on against the workers by the ruling class and expose conditions about which the bourgeois press stays silent, but it also serves as a guide to political action.

But the importance of the left-wing press is even more urgent in a country such as Chile. The dictatorial regime of Pinochet and the military junta closed down all the mass media of communication which were unfavourable to its rule, immediately after it seized power on September 11th 1973.

Of course the working class and revolutionary press can only survive in Chile through clandestine organisation. So the publication of every new issue of any newspaper or magazine and its distribution throughout the country becomes a real heroic political event.

One of those clandestine publications in Chile was the magazine "Revolucion" which was the official organ of the Chilean Socialist Party (CNR). The secret police, the DINA, made tremendous efforts to silence that magazine.

Unfortunately, their efforts have recently become more successful. They have discovered the clandestine printing house of the Chilean Socialist Party and arrested three members of the Resistance there. Undoubtedly it has been a hard blow, not only for the Chilean revolutionaries, but also for all those throughout the world who fight in a revolutionary socialist way.

In an attempt to raise this issue in the socialist and trade union movement in Ireland, Chilean socialists who are living here have sent the following letter to the leadership of the Socialist Labour Party:

"As members of the Chilean Socialist Party—CNR—we have been informed by our comrades from Chile that on Tuesday 24th of January, the DINA (today renamed as the CN1) discovered the clandestine printing house of our Party and arrested there, three Chilean comrades. Two of them were members of the Political Commission of the party.

"It is a very hard blow for our Party and for all the Chilean people who are fighting against the fascist dictatorship. Given the delicate and important task that our comrades had and the

fact that two of them were members of the Political Commission, there is good reason to fear for their lives.

"For these reasons we would like to ask the S.L.P. to initiate a campaign to protest against the tortures to which they have been submitted and to ask for their immediate release.

"The Chilean comrades who were arrested are: Victor Herasman Sepulveda, Luis Ricardo Gonzalez Ugaldes, and Ceferino Rojas Garrido.

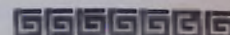
"We hope for active solidarity from the S.L.P."

Let us not forget that it was James Connolly who said: "The socialist of another country is a fellow patriot, as the capitalist of my own country is a natural enemy."

We are calling on the entire S.L.P. and the whole of the trade union movement to join in solidarity with the Chilean struggle through organising meetings and activities to protest on behalf of the Chilean prisoners and to demand their immediate release. We also urgently need to collect money in this country to help in replacing the printing press for "Revolucion" in Chile. If any individuals or branches of trade unions or political parties wish to make donations or organise socials or concerts to raise the money, we would be very grateful.

Fraternally,
Chilean socialists in Ireland.
(Name and address with editors.)

Comrades from the Chilean Socialist Party, who are living in Ireland produce a Journal in English—REVOLUCION which is available from SWR for 25p. including postage.



THEORY AND PRACTISE !!

Dear Comrades
Congratulations on the Socialist Worker Review. However it contains one major weakness, it fails to give any lead or proposals for action. If you look at the two central articles in issues 1 and 2 'Six years after Bloody Sunday' and 'Unemployment' there are no proposals that can be taken up. In issue one, on the North an excellent analysis of the decline in the mass movement ends with a call to bring working class methods to the anti-imperialist struggle, no mention of joining the Relatives Action Committee or how we should build it, or what demands we

should raise in the Trade Union Movement. In issue two on unemployment, you say "we compile some facts and figures on unemployment They should be used to prick the balloon of smugness and complacency that exists in the Trade Union Movement—the attitude that it will all come right in the end and that you don't actually have to do anything about it", then the article says nothing about what can be done. Unfortunately this lack of activity also runs through the Socialist Labour Party, who after six months existence have not managed to get any activity off

the ground. To date the relationship between theory and practise has been - theory is writing about socialism and practise is reading about it. Theory must be integrated with practise, it is by activity that the working class realise their ability and power to change society. I hope the SWR will take up the idea of activity and fight for the SLP to be an active party.

Fraternally,
K. Doogan
(Dublin S-County)



BY JOHN GOODWILLIE

MOST SOCIALISTS in Ireland are agreed on the aim of a 32-County socialist republic. The divisions occur on the questions of what stepping-stones or immediate demands to use in order to get there.

There is one well-established stepping-stone: the independent capitalist republic. This 'stages theory' states that first of all, the working class must unite with the nationalist section of the bourgeoisie in order to defeat imperialism; then after the defeat of imperialism the working class turns on its capitalist allies and fights them in order to achieve socialism.

Such a theory has been advocated in Ireland for many decades by the Communist Party; it is close to the position of the majority of the Republican Congress in 1934; it was adopted by Sinn Féin in the late 1960s; and a large element of the Provisionals hold similar views today.

What is wrong with it is not that it is a bad way of proceeding. If this was the way politics worked, it might be an excellent way of proceeding. (For example, the Vietnamese victory over American imperialism represents a step forward for the Vietnamese working class, even though the working class have not come to power themselves and will have to fight against a new bureaucratic ruling class in order to do so.)

STAGES

What is wrong with the stages theory is that it cannot work. It tells workers to unite with a section of the capitalist class, who are their exploiters. In that way it falls into the trap of bourgeois nationalists, who are always saying "Labour must wait". It preaches class collaboration on the basis that the national bourgeoisie cannot overthrow imperialism by their

own efforts: they need the help of the working class. But if the working class have the force which can overthrow imperialism, will they do this and then hand over power to a new set of exploiters? Of course not: if the workers have the power to overthrow imperialism, they have the power to establish a workers' state immediately without living through a period of independent national capitalism.

Besides, in an age in which imperialism has spread its tentacles into every area of commerce, there is no section of the bourgeoisie which can lead a revolt against imperialism. Almost all capitalists depend on foreign trade and multi-national companies for their supplies or for their markets. The days when a self-sufficient national economy could be built are long gone.

VACUUM

However, there are some on the revolutionary left who believe that even though a united capitalist Ireland is objectively impossible, nevertheless the way to socialism lies in mobilising people into the anti-imperialist struggle without specifying that it is an anti-capitalist struggle. Somehow, it seems, the working class will overthrow imperialism and, in the vacuum created, it will realise that it must establish itself in power. But the building of any genuine socialism depends on a high degree of consciousness among the workers, not on keeping them in the dark for fear of frightening off some small farmers or intellectuals.

Much of this notion depends on ideas that have some relevance for other countries where the working class is isolated in the midst of vast numbers of peasants. In these circumstances it is quite understandable to put forward the demand for a

Constituent Assembly in which all sections of the population would be represented. Similarly in a country emerging from fascism a Constituent Assembly can play a role in awakening political consciousness.

ASSEMBLY

But in Ireland the majority of the population are working-class, and we have had 59 years of parliamentary institutions, starting with a Constituent Assembly—the First and Second Dáils. A Constituent Assembly in Ireland amounts to little more than a joint session of the Republic's Dáil with a Northern Ireland Assembly. The slogan simply has no revolutionary implications: in fact it implies that in an Ireland emerging from imperialism, we would keep something like our present parliamentary institutions. The foundation of a workers' republic will require a break with the present institutions and the formation from the bottom upwards of new organs expressing the workers' will.

STRATEGY

The demand for a Constituent Assembly is only one part of the strategy of fighting for a "united Ireland" without specifying whether it is to be socialist or capitalist. If the working class was willing to fight for an independent capitalist republic, the demand for a "united Ireland" might mobilise around them other sections of the population who would not be inclined to support socialism. But the Southern workers have not in recent years shown a great inclination to fight for the right to be exploited by Irish rather than

foreign capitalists. They may sympathise with nationalism, but they won't take action for purely nationalist ends.

Above all, there is no chance of the Protestant section of the working class being won to a struggle which is not fought on an anti-capitalist basis. The working-class Loyalist opposition to the civil rights campaign was in their terms quite rational: equal access to jobs and houses would mean fewer jobs and houses for Protestants. It meant an attack on the marginal privileges they had. Similarly, a united capitalist republic is incompatible with the privileges that Protestant workers still enjoy. The only united Ireland that the Protestant workers will ever support will be a united socialist Ireland, because that offers them more than what they have now—but at the expense of their bosses, not at the expense of their Catholic fellow-workers.

FEDERAL

There are some who think that a federal capitalist Ireland could satisfy Protestant aspirations: Catholic power in the South, Protestant power in the North. But if the Protestant bourgeoisie are allowed to rule either Six or Nine Counties, they will be forced to maintain their own ascendancy—and the loyalty of Protestant workers—by discriminating against the

Catholic population. To achieve a federal Ireland therefore requires smashing the Catholic workers, who can never accept such a formula.

The only other united capitalist Ireland possible is the return of the South to the United Kingdom—dressed up as "a Confederation of these islands", or some such thing. To achieve that requires the smashing of the Southern workers.



C.S. Parnell - Now Irishmen of all creeds and politics 'take off your coats' and give this wheel a start, it is a bit rusty, but will be all right when it is set a going.

THE BOOK MARX CLUB

supplies paperback books for socialists and trade unionists. For as little as £4.50 we send up to six books a quarter whose retail value can be as much as £7. Now well-established with in excess of 600 members. Bookmarx is an opportunity

which no-one should be fool enough to miss. These are the books for the second quarter of 1978 (retail price in brackets). You get List A plus one other list (please state preference) for £4.50. We will send additional lists for £2.50 each.

LIST A

Trade Unions Under Capitalism Tom Clarke & Laurie Clements (£1.95). A collection of some of the best Marxist writings stressing the importance of independent Rank and File action in the trade unions—from Marx & Engels as well as contemporary writers. *Kill Me Quick Meja Mwangi* (50p). This unusual African novel tells the tragic story of two unemployed youths in modern Nairobi. (£1.00). A new printing of a masterful book telling of a woman's fight for spiritual and sensual freedom written in 1899, slammed at the time as vulgar, sordid and unwholesome.

LIST B

Lenin Vol 3 - Revolution Besieged Tony Cliff (£3.60) The latest volume of Cliff's masterly biography covers the period following the 1917 revolution and the experience of the Communist International. A special offer will be available on the first two volumes for club members.

LIST C

In the Rapids of Revolution John Maclean (£2.95). A new selection of the writings of one of the greatest Marxist teachers, not just of red Clydeside, but of international standing.

LIST D

Politics of the Judiciary J A G Griffiths (£1.25). A detailed expose of the class politics of judges and the whole legal system, this new book is essential reading for anyone likely to come up against them. *A Light Shining in Buckinghamshire* Caryl Churchill (£1.50). A playscript by a modern socialist playwright which expresses the ideas of the diggers and the levellers in the English revolution. *Outcasts of Foolgarah Frank Hardy* (60p). This hilarious novel by the famous Australian author of *Power Without Glory* is based on a dustmen's strike.

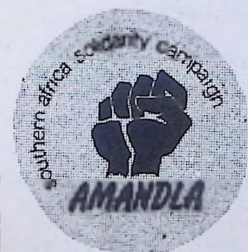
LIST E

Women's Bodies, Women's Rights Linda Gordon (£1.50). A new history of the fight for adequate birth control in the USA. *For Coloured Girls who have considered suicide when the rainbow is enuf* Ntozake Shange (£1.50). This remarkable new play/poem explores the double exploitation of black women.

Send applications with cash to: Bookmarx Club, Bookmarks, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London, N4 2DE



FREEDOM FIGHTER Bulletin of the Southern African Solidarity Campaign: Issue No. 6. TUC collaboration with Apartheid unions exposed. Opportunists waiting to take over 2-imperialist named, and latest news of black struggles despite opportunists and collaborator opposition: and Reviews and news of Solidarity. 10p each (plus 10p p&pt). 10 copies post free. SASC, 21 Mayall Road, London, SE24.



AMANDLA BADGE. Amandla is the word for POWER, popularised by the youth of Soweto. Black on gold. 20p each plus 10p postage (£2.00 for 10 (post free)).

THE ENERGY QUESTION

For a long time now the question and the doubts as to whether Nuclear power should be used as a source of energy has been seen as 'a trendy middle class student hang-up' or something only the health food addict would be interested in. But to see the problem in this way and to treat it as an apolitical issue would be a terrible mistake.

Many groups have called upon the Government to hold a public inquiry into the various aspects of building a nuclear power station at Carnore Point. Up to now the government has refused to grant this request. The ESB issued various publicity handouts and held meetings, inviting only the pro-nuclear scientists and restricted the amount of time for which opposing groups could speak. Such was the case with a meeting organised by the ESB in Wexford recently.

Nuclear power is a rich country technology - it presupposes a well-developed electricity distribution network and a large industrial infrastructure. It is interesting, therefore, to look at the people behind the proposals for nuclear power in this country. The magazine, Irish Business in its issue of February '76, gave us some glimpse of their motivation. It stated: "Within the ESB, there are a large number of ambitious men, more ambitious men than there are jobs for them. For the power hungry semi-states, the channell of a nuclear power station has enormous possibilities".

The type of reactor which the ESB are proposing to install are those made by the same American Corporations as have taken over the French market. It's the oil magnates who have now become the nuclear power magnates that control the energy industry. Their greed and craziness is shown in their dirty tricks operations. Some of the companies have already admitted allocating millions of pounds for bribe to officials as part of their nuclear sales programme. In Italy, the American Corporation, Exxon, admitted paying out more in bribes to Italian politicians to get the 'right' decisions, than the US budget for research into alternative sources of energy.

The technology behind the nuclear programme is a highly secretive one. And if you don't get your information before the plant is built, through a public inquiry, there is not a hope of it being offered when the plant is in operation. In France the authorities have claimed privilege under the Treaty of Commercial Secrecy and have refused to divulge any pertinent information.

But even the *Electricite de France* are not kept fully informed by the American consortium, as they have to cover up when they meet the French public.

One official when challenged at a meeting in Saint Laurent in December 1973 said: "People often tell lies about us and about nuclear power stations. We are obliged to defend ourselves by the same means."

Because of the nature of the products and the dangers that Plutonium could be stolen and used to make atom bombs, the ESB will require its own security personnel. Already in Britain, there is an armed nuclear police force with special powers of interrogation and detention. The government here will undoubtedly attempt to justify a similar army which can arrest, enter and search houses "where there are people who are suspected of having stolen the waste material" - or for that matter people who oppose nuclear technology. Other security measures will probably include press censorship on nuclear plants.

Nuclear technology is also extremely dangerous. The slightest slip can mean disaster. There have already been many accidents at nuclear power plants. In December 1972, at the Chalk river station in Canada, the reactor was destroyed and a million gallons of radio-active water flooded the structure. In 1964, in Idaho Falls in the U.S. a power excursion that lasted 1/500th of a second killed a three-man crew on the spot. The victims were so severely irradiated that they had to be buried in a dump for radio-active waste. Recently, cases are coming to light of deaths from cancer and leukaemia from working in nuclear power plants in Australia, USA and Britain. Contamination takes upwards

NO NUKES IS GOOD NUKES

of 45 years, so it is impossible to say how many workers may be affected.

However one of the biggest problems lies in the disposal of the waste. Nuclear waste remains radio-active for thousands of years and is therefore a constant source of danger.

There is it seems no safe level of exposure to radiation. Dr Thomas Mancuso, who worked for years for the U.S. government on safety in nuclear plants is now being hounded by government officials. He was fine for the U.S. government from 1965 - until about 18 months ago, when he discovered alarming evidence that

NUCLEAR POWER: IT'LL COST US THE EARTH

low levels of radiation which were previously thought to be safe, can actually be quite deadly. So much so that unless a whitewash job can be effectively done (so far it has failed), even X Ray firms could go bankrupt.

The often used cliché: more energy = more economic growth = less unemployment which was used by the Trade Union Congress in Sweden and England, to promote the nuclear projects just doesn't stand up to close examination. French trade unionists now regard nuclear power as a treat to their jobs.

There is a fair amount of evidence around to illustrate how alternative sources of energy can provide more jobs. When Wyifa nuclear power station was built in Anglesey, unemployment went down by 262. Yet at the public inquiry in 1961, the Central Electricity Generating Board claimed that 2000 - 3000 workers would

be needed for the construction. These promises are nothing new to us, nor is their later failure.

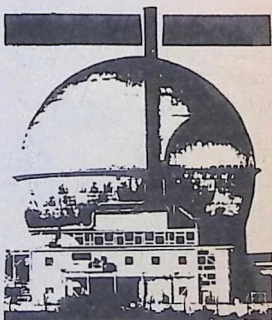
But what of the jobs created in France and other countries, normal trade union activity is suppressed because of the 'security' aspect. Strikes for improved pay and conditions in the plant have been beaten by riot police in France. They can be easily labelled as "endangering public safety".

Many employees have been got at in the States when they became critical of the safety arrangements. Such was the case of one Karen Silkwood, whose car was run off the road on her way to meet a union official and a New

York Times journalist with details of negligence by the Ken McGee Corporation. Employees are screened by the security forces and must work behind barbed wire under conditions which are yet to be passed as safe.

A major breakthrough for the Anti-Nuclear power lobby in this country has been the statement by John Carroll, a long time opponent of nuclear power, that the Executive of the ITGWU was now officially against the proposed nuclear power plant in Carnore Point. He called for a public inquiry and highlighted the dangers to the welfare of the workers who could get a job there. He said that the union would be starting a campaign to educate people on the reasons why the project should be scrapped.

The technology involved in nuclear power is elitist and secretive and is not acceptable to workers who want to control their own lives. Low energy decentralised power systems controlled by the people they serve could be the alternative. Trade union members must organise to prevent this anti-democratic technology from starting in this country. It's attempts to control the trade unions, as has happened in other countries, must be resisted.



FRANK BAMBRICK
A.G.E.M.O.U. Shop steward.

IS THERE AN IRISH NATION ?

DEBATE

TEN YEARS AGO people used phrases like "the Irish nation" without a second thought. Then in 1969 the Irish Communist Organisation originated the theory that there were two nations in Ireland. This led them down an increasingly reactionary path, not merely supporting Unionist claims but welcoming the role of British imperialism in backing them up, and eventually the whole-hearted support for imperialism as a progressive force in the Irish economy.

In relation to the north this path means recognising the "right" of the Protestant majority to decide on the future status of the North, as a single community, workers and employers together. To recognise such a right means to recognise the right of the Protestant majority to coerce the Catholic minority. To recognise such a right means to condemn any struggle against imperialism on the grounds that those who conduct it are from a minority community.

ONE NATION

Revulsion at this descent has led most of the rest of the Irish left to insist that there was only one Irish nation, which must exercise its right to self-determination - in a phrase which has been used by some, "the right of the Irish people to self-determination as a whole." What this seems to mean is the right of the Catholic majority (in Ireland as a whole) to coerce the Protestant minority.

Of course, only some put it as crudely as Kevin Agnew, who suggested at the Coalisland conference that unionist-minded people should get on the boat. Most socialists recognise that sections of the Protestant workers will have to be won over, or at least neutralised, before a workers' republic can be built. What they are much less willing to recognise is that Protestant workers have a key role to play in the smashing of capitalism.

Those who see the destruction of cap-

It is an article of faith among many people that an Irish nation has existed from time immemorial. In this article, John Goodwillie questions the whole validity of this notion. We hope that it will stimulate a lively response from our readers.

italism as taking place primarily in parliament, or on the streets, or through military struggle can afford to treat the hostility of Protestant workers as a problem to find a way round.

But those who recognise the central importance of the power of workers gathered together in workplaces, in factories - their power to immobilise the economy, their power to re-start production under workers' control - will recognise that capitalism and imperialism will never be overthrown in Ireland without the active participation of workers such as those in Harland and Wolff's, Short and Harland's, Michelin, Gallahers and so on. Every working class has its backward elements who will oppose the socialist revolution; but if backward elements are in a majority in the country's most important industrial centre - Belfast - the revolution will be defeated.

UNITY

How, then, can unity of the working class, Protestant and Catholic, be built? Not by appealing to the involvement of some of the Protestant workers' ancestors in 1798, not by a nationalism which they do not feel involved in, but only because socialism is in the class interest of all workers. Socialists must therefore appeal to Protestant workers on a class basis, starting from the everyday trade union struggle and building up to an understanding of how their employers form part of

an imperialist system.

Within this type of framework, insistence that the Protestant workers form part of "the Irish nation" has no role to play. The formation of nations was a feature of the historical development of capitalism and of the formation of capitalist nation-states. Nobody in the Middle Ages would have talked about a French nation, for example. And over much of Africa today, it is doubtful whether the peoples of the artificial states carved out by colonial masters have acquired the internal cohesion and consciousness of their own identity to be classified as "nations".

FAILED

In Ireland, the only serious attempt to found an independent capitalist state - in the 1790s - failed, and the development of one Irish nation was nipped in the bud. The people of Ireland lack a common national consciousness: a quarter of them would deny that they belong to "the Irish nation". The arousing of these people to the reality of their oppression by British imperialism can be achieved only on a socialist basis: not by asking them to accept a set of nationalist (capitalist) ideas that many Southern workers are no longer taken in by.

MISTAKES

The mistake made by both the two-nations theorists and their one-nation opponents is to think that once you have identified your "nation", progress towards socialism has to proceed through a struggle for its self-determination. The demand for self-determination is an anti-imperialist demand: the Protestant workers have to be won to participate in the struggle against imperialism, not told blandly that they have lost out in a headcount over whether "the nation" wants that struggle to continue.

JOHN GOODWILLIE



I'm in it to disrupt peoples lives

Elvis Costello

1977 WAS THE date of another of those periodic upsurges of rock n' roll. It broke through the sleepiness that had covered most of the rock field; began conquering chunks of the 'Hip Easy Listening' middle ground held by the Eagles, Fleetwood Mac etc; and even cleared a considerable space for itself in the charts among Abba, Showaddywaddy, Baccarah and the third rate disco monotonies.

Rock, which among other things is a vehicle for frustration (notably young, and often working class, frustration) was asserting itself in a music business now worth 2 Billion dollars a year in America alone. The New Waves shock troops in the punk bands, cleared the way for more durable performers such as Graham Parker and Elvis Costello. Both of these have taken Dublin by storm in magnificent concerts and Elvis Costello has followed up with his latest album 'This Years Model'.

Elvis Costello has brought a hard-hitting subversive music and a non-conformist image (or anti-image) near to the top of the play lists and to a mass audience. His singles and albums unite biting words with quality songs that are full of catchy hook-lines. What he has to say lashes out at the society we live in, but mostly in a personal way, as his main theme appears to be personal relationships and sexual oppression.

His cutting responses to various rejections in 'I'm Not Angry' and 'Red Shoes'

I said I was so happy I could die she said drop dead and left with another guy.

have been called revenge, full and even misogynist. But other songs show that he is hitting out at the falsity

and pretention of the roles forced on both women and men by society:

Sneaky feelings, sneaky feelings can't let those sneaky feelings show I'd like to get right to the way I feel for you but I still got a long way to go.

Like the Woody Allen he resembles, he protests against the pressure to be a hunky he-man

Why do you say there's someone who can do it better than I can don't you know that walking on water won't make me a miracle man.

Another song 'Mystery Dance' is a driving, fifties-style rocker which jokingly admits to and protests against, a sexual inadequacy in the face of standards imposed on us:

Well I remember when the lights went out I was trying to make it look like it never was in doubt she thought that I knew and I thought that she knew so both of us were willin' but we didn't know what to do.

The new album 'This Years Model' contains five songs which bash the fashion industry and its effects - the desperation to keep up with trends. One of its songs 'I Don't Want To Go To Chelsea' homes in on that area of London given over to fashion, art and money. The title of 'Not Just Another Face In The Lipstick Vogue' speaks for itself as seeing values in women other than their appearance as dictated by the fashion

industry. The same goes for 'This Years Girl' which puts down the idea of a Margot Hemmingway that every woman is supposed to copy or a Farrah-Fawcett-Majors that every man is supposed to drool over.

See her picture in a thousand places 'cos she's this years girl you think you own pieces of this years girl.

The most openly 'political' song is the warning about the National Front and other emerging fascists - 'Night Rally'. The song goes

Everybody's ringing their hands on their hearts about decency in the darkest hours It's just the sort of catchy little melody to have singing in the showers.

and also

You think there so dumb you think there so funny until they've got you running to their night rallies.

Costello's sound is tight, tuneful (but not in a light hearted way) and travels with brilliant backing from the Attractions. The punching rock is the recoil of the cocky little guy striking back. ("They told me everything was guaranteed/One of these days I'm gonna Pay It Back"). These blockbusting songs, with their mid-sixties allusions, have taken him to the Top of the Pops but his contempt for the commercial pop world remains. He said in a recent interview that "The music business actively disgusts me. People in this business just don't understand that I don't want to join their club"

Neither he nor Graham Parker are likely candidates for the centre-fold of 'Jackie' magazine (but you never know) His rejection of the usual channels was nicely stated when he appeared on a mid-afternoon women's programme instead of the usual T.V. pop spots.

Lastly, a recent letter in the 'New Musical Express' apparently from him ended with "I look forward to coming to Dublin again." Good. And maybe he could play in some other cities as well.

DES DERWIN



Behind the mist

Dutiful Daughters
eds. Jean McCrindle & Sheila Rowbotham
Allen Lane £5.95.

There used to be a part in films where it all went misty and faded out. There used to be a part at the end of a chapter where the bedroom door closed and it went...

And then there came childbirth, always going on upstairs room while it seemed the whole world waited with the father down below.

Or else there were glimpses of

another kind. The times of illness. The times of bereavement. And most of all the scrubbing and cooking and washing and sewing. Waiting wrapped in shawls, in an anxious, huddled line at the pit-head after a disaster. Or queuing for bread.

Often such depictions were sentimental. Almost always they were shadowy. The women in the back room. A weary figure, waiting and fetching and bearing. Surrounded by children. Nameless more often than not.

So very rarely the figure at the centre of the stage, certainly

not once her pretty looks had faded. That's how it was with women.

Only Jean McCrindle and Sheila Rowbotham have opened the door on another scene. This time the story is told by women themselves.

Dutiful Daughters comprises the memories of middle-aged and older women—mainly working class women—from England and Scotland.

And it's a different world: the pains of puberty and the horror of menstruation; complete ignorance of childbirth right up until your first labour; hating your mother who made you drudge at home, and never told you the things you needed to know; years of sexual intercourse without ever experiencing orgasm, or even knowing what it is.

Low paid jobs like farm work and office cleaning; the deprivations and loneliness of the war years; growing up in affectionless families; TB, depression, and abortion.

But it isn't by any means all misery.

There's the fun involved in making your way in a new job; the friendships made in the war; the affections of children and a

kind husband; the pleasure of a first indoor bath and toilet.

Yet over and over again recur the most basic concerns of two generations of women: the misery of bad housing; the struggle to control their fertility; the boring and low-paid nature of their work.

You may feel well acquainted with facts and statistics relating to the conditions of women's lives in the twentieth century. But this book can't fail to astonish and even wound you. It's on territory such as this that oral history can score above all.

I doubt if any of these women ever dreamed that one day her life story would be told, let alone in print to thousands of readers. The editors have done a fine job in transcribing the individual accents and manners of speech, sufficiently preserving the alternating hesitations and spontaneous flow of memory. It takes patient and sympathetic interviewing to gather material as sensitive as this.

Dutiful Daughters should inspire many more women to follow in its footsteps. There are many, many more stories to be told.

Judith Crampton

THE DISPOSSESSED

LEON URIS's book **Milo 18** was one of the first full length novels I ever read. At the time, 1960, I knew next to nothing about the extermination programme of the Nazis, but by the end of that book I was crying with rage and sorrow.

Milo 18 is next to useless at explaining why the Nazis came to power, but it is very powerful in its documentation of what happened to the Jews under them. It is this quality of documentation which Uris uses to such good effect in **Trinity**, a novel which is set in the North West of Ireland and spans the last half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth.

Conscience

It should be made clear at the outset that this is purely a nationalist book. You will find no mention in it of Connelly, Larkin, the Citizens Army or the general strike of 1913. There is a good reason for this. Uris is not a socialist—he is a Zionist. As such he can feel sympathy for the Irish National struggle; after all the Zionists fought the Brits in 1948 and created a new state, albeit a repressive and racist one created out of the guilty conscience of Europe and on other people's wounds... the dispossessed

Martin McGovern
reviews
TRINITY
by
Leon Uris
£1.60 Corgi

The story starts around the time of the famine. The politics is that of the Fenian Brotherhood, a secret society who, in the despair following the potato famine (God brought the potato blight but the landlords/English brought the famine) and the failed uprising of 1848, kept the flame of Republicanism alive. The first part of the book is set in the Catholic hill farms of Donegal which look down on the richer Protestant farms in the valley. The dispossessed look down on the lands they lost. Divide and conquer. The lord of the manor reaps the benefit. The story, through the leading character, moves to the urban unemployed of Derry city, with the women in the linen mills and the unemployed men at home, and finally to the industrialised heartland of Belfast and the Catholic ghettos.

While Uris ignores the role of the working class he is excellent in showing how the Northern statelet was formed solely to meet the economic needs of the large capitalists in Northern Ireland and not out of any attachment to the idea of a Protestant state for a Protestant people. The book brilliantly documents how this

was done. The demagogic preacher is brought in to whip up the Protestant mob.

There are some very moving passages in the book. One in particular, where the mill catches fire and the women burn to death; profits being far more important than sweated labour, and (of course) the inevitable cover up which follows. To be fair many of the characters in the book are a bit tiring. It is all heroes and heroines, or rather, one hero and three leading ladies. The leading man is a sort of Super Mick. For example, the Countess of Londonderry has some sort of a giant grid hanging in her stately home (I am damned if I could ever quite figure out what it looked like). At any rate all the finest metal workers in Europe had a go at fixing it, without success, no expense spared, despairing countess, but wait!, all is not lost, up steps our hero Supermick and blacksmith, no cowboy he, takes a quick look at it and in no time at all bangs it into shape.

Dazzled

The Countess is dazzled and fancies a quick bit of rough trade, but it is not to be. Later, however, he does have it away with a thinly disguised Countess Markiewicz, the well known Irish revolutionary. Apart from the fact that it is a bit of a potboiler the book is a very powerful piece of work and should be read. Don't be put off by the size of the book, it is easy reading.

SUBSCRIBE

FILL IN THE COUPON BELOW.

Come blow your horn, start celebratin'



Right this way, your coupons waitin'.

SUBSCRIBE TO SOCIALIST WORKER REVIEW

£2.25 for 12 Issues

SEND TO SWR C/O 24 TALBOT STREET DUBLIN 1.

NAME

ADDRESS